DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 429 496 HE 031 945

AUTHOR Malaney, Gary D.
TITLE Student Satisfaction with Campus Services: Comparisons among Racial/Ethnic Groups.
PUB DATE 1998-05-00
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (Philadelphia, PA, March 8-11, 1998) and the Association for Institutional Research (38th, Minneapolis, MN, May 17-20, 1998).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Asian Americans; Blacks; *College Students; *Educational Experience; Higher Education; Hispanic Americans; *Racial Differences; *Satisfaction; State Universities; *Student Attitudes; *Student Personnel Services; Whites
IDENTIFIERS Mixed Race Persons; University of Massachusetts Amherst

ABSTRACT

This study examined racial and ethnic differences in student satisfaction with campus services at a state university. In March and April 1997, a total of 841 students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst completed a 19-item survey on their campus experiences and satisfaction with various services. The sample included 521 white, 105 Asian, 96 African American, 76 Latino, and 43 multiracial students. It was found that larger proportions of African American students expressed dissatisfaction with social life compared to other groups, with 20 percent of African American students either very or somewhat dissatisfied compared to 13.9 percent of multiracial students, 13.5 percent of Asian students, 10.7 percent of Latino students, and 6.6 percent of white students. African American and Latino students also reported the highest levels of dissatisfaction with security in residence halls. African American students were also the most dissatisfied group in regard to financial aid and the overall university experience, while white students were the least dissatisfied group, with 57.8 percent of African American students and 30.8 percent of whites dissatisfied. It is concluded that institutions need to take positive steps, such as diversity workshops, to foster better racial and ethnic understanding. (Contains 51 references.) (MDM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

HE

ED 429 496

Student Satisfaction with Campus Services:

Comparisons among Racial/Ethnic Groups

by

Gary D. Malaney

Director, Student Affairs Research, Information, & Systems (SARIS)

Associate Professor, Higher Education

229 Whitmore Administration Building

University of Massachusetts

Amherst, MA 01003

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IHE 631 Sys

Paper presented at the annual meetings of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators in Philadelphia, PA, March, 1998, and the Association for Institutional Research in Minneapolis, MN, May, 1998.

Gary D. Malaney

2

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Student Satisfaction with Campus Services:

Comparisons among Racial/Ethnic Groups

Predominantly white campuses across the country historically have been subject to various complaints from students of color, and rightly so. Simply by virtue of their smaller numbers, students of color at such institutions "are forced to make considerable cultural and social adjustments" (Mow & Nettles, 1990, p. 78). They find it more difficult to meet people with similar backgrounds and interests, and they often encounter social isolation in addition to problems related to cultural adjustment, racism, and academics (Allen, 1988). As a result, it should not be surprising if they tend to be more generally upset with their college environments than majority students, especially when they feel that campus administrators do little to support them.

The University of Massachusetts Amherst has been as susceptible to these complaints as any other predominantly white campus in the country. Several racial incidents have occurred over the past decade, many of which have been detailed in the press (see Clarke, 1991; Elfin & Burke, 1993; Rezendes, 1988; Shea, 1992; Stone & Larrabee, 1992; "UMass Students Seize," 1997), and a few of these are mentioned below. In 1986, there was the infamous World Series incident where African American New York Mets fans were attacked by white Boston Red Sox fans. In 1988, students took over the New Africa House for six days protesting an attack by six white students on two African American male students and one white female student who had attended a party together. In 1991, Asian students closed their cultural center in protest to what they called a "facade of multiculturalism" at the University. They demanded a restructuring of the core curriculum to include more non-Western works, and they asked for more Asian faculty, staff, and students. In 1992, an African American resident assistant was attacked by a white non-student who was visiting another student on campus. During a protest of that incident, a group of angry students entered a residence hall and proceeded to bang on doors and shout anti-white epithets. In 1995-96, protests and/or rallies developed over two issues: (a) a plan to name the library after W.E.B. DuBois and (b) a dining hall incident where a white food server made a derogatory comment to an African American student. In 1997,

students of color from different racial/ethnic backgrounds occupied a building for six days while protesting campus climate and the administration's failure to uphold agreements reached in prior years of negotiating. Such agreements included increasing the percentage of students of color on campus to 20 percent and increasing representation of faculty and staff of color.

It is important to note that the above incidents are by no means the only incidents that occurred. There also have allegations of police officers stopping and questioning African American males for no apparent reason. Students of color also have reported being falsely detained for shoplifting in the campus bookstore. Needless to say, the incidents have led to some unrest on the campus, particularly in the African American community. It is in this context that administrators and researchers desired to know the extent to which students of color, as a whole, were unsatisfied with their experiences on campus. While student leaders easily make clear their level of disgruntlement, administrators wanted to investigate the opinions of the entire student body. Accordingly, researchers at UMass surveyed students in order to assess their views on a variety of issues related to campus climate. The intent of this paper is to discuss those survey results, making comparisons among racial/ethnic groups. Based on the results, suggestions are made for improving the climate for students of color.

Background

Most administrators on predominantly white campuses want diversity in their student bodies; however, it is often difficult to recruit and retain students of color to such campuses because of the small proportion of students of color currently on the campuses. It is a classic "Catch-22" situation -- It is difficult to achieve a diverse campus without already having one.

To improve diversity, it is particularly important for administrators on such campuses to create welcoming, supportive climates for students of color (Brown, 1991; Hawkins, 1989). One way to help ensure a supportive environment is for administrators to work with staff members on being more helpful and friendly when providing routine services to students, as noted by advocates of quality improvement in higher education (Seymour, 1992; 1995). While friendly and helpful services are important to all students,

for students of color, particularly those attending predominantly white universities, it becomes especially important in light of the additional challenges of racism and discrimination (Allen, 1985; Pascarella, 1985; Suen, 1983).

Clearly, it is in the best interests of the faculty and administrators to help students feel comfortable and happy on campus. If students do not feel happy and comfortable, they are more likely to leave (Astin, 1975, 1977, 1993; Tinto, 1987). Tinto noted that most students who withdraw from college do so voluntarily and that their departures can be caused by a variety of factors, not the least of which is simply not feeling comfortable. Adjusting to a new life in college can be intimidating for students, and many factors come into play. For instance, lack of adequate academic preparation can make a student feel discouraged (Getzlaf, Sedlacek, Kearney, & Blackwell, 1984), and lack of academic challenges may also influence student departure (Tinto, 1987). Other factors include a perceived negative quality of campus life (Mow & Nettles, 1990), lack of participation in appropriate extracurricular activities (Upcraft, 1985), being a non-traditional student (Chapman, 1989; Copland, 1989; Hameister, 1989; Rice, 1989), or being from a non-majority culture or ethnic background (Allen, 1988; Justiz & Rendon, 1989; Mow & Nettles, 1990; Pounds, 1989). Crosson (1988) noted that "negative racial climates can adversely affect prospects for minority degree achievement" (p.366).

As Tinto (1987) noted, the various studies of Pascarella and Terenzini (Pascarella, 1980; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1977, 1979, 1983; Pascarella & Wolfle, 1985; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1977) show that "voluntary withdrawal is much more a reflection of what occurs on campus after entry than it is of what has taken place before entry" (p. 65). Mow and Nettles (1990) noted that research on the experiences of minority students often highlights the poor fit between particular groups and the institutional environment, but they also contend that students often do not realize the poor fit until after they arrive on campus. Malaney and Shively (1995) also discussed the importance of the "fit" between expectations and actual experiences for students of color.

Mow and Nettles (1990) pointed out that most of the research on minority students has studied

African American students (see Allen, 1985; Braddock, 1981; Mallinckrodt, 1988; Mannan, Charleston, & Saghafi, 1986), with a recent increased interest in Latino students (see Madrazo-Peterson & Rodriguez, 1978; Nora, 1987; Olivas, 1986) and that there has been little research on Native or Asian American students. They suggested that fewer studies regarding the performance and persistence of Asian American students exist because research has shown that Asian Americans have higher rates of access, persistence, and performance than other minority groups; therefore, the perceived need for additional research is not as strong. In fact, grades and graduation rates are higher for Asian Americans than their white counterparts at some institutions. While it may be true that the academic performance of Asian-American students is better than other minority groups, they too suffer from problems of cultural adjustment and racism (Asamen & Berry, 1987; Chew & Ogi, 1987; Loo & Rolison, 1986).

Mow and Nettles (1990) also found that most existing studies of minority students fail to compare more than two groups, usually a single minority group and the white majority group. They suggested a need for more comparative studies of various racial/ethnic groups. As enrollments increase for several racial/ethnic groups on certain campuses, the need for group comparisons grows in importance. Different racial/ethnic groups can and do respond differently to a common campus environment, and administrators need to know the extent of the group differences and why the differences occur, so the groups can be addressed distinctly. Malaney and Shively (1995) studied four groups of students and found that their expectations upon entering college and their actual experiences at college varied tremendously by group.

Methodology

The Instrument

Since 1975, the Student Affairs Research, Information, & Systems Office (SARIS) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (UMass), in conjunction with Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges, has conducted the annual "Cycles" study which investigates student satisfaction with campus life and services in general (Kegan, 1978; Lam, Malaney, & Oteri, 1990). Historically, the Cycles survey is administered to a random sample of the undergraduate student body, but this method has not provided enough students of color to conduct analyses by racial/ethnic group. In 1997, administrators at UMass wanted to be able to analyze data from students of color on specific issues and compare those data with data from majority students, so administrators and researchers decided to develop a separate instrument comprised of specific items from the longer Cycles instrument.

The survey instrument consisted of several sections, but this paper focuses on only two. The first section consisted of 15 Likert-type items which asked students about their satisfaction level (four-point scale from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied") with various university experiences and services, including academic and social experiences, residential life, security, and financial aid. The second section consisted of four Likert-type items which asked students whether they agreed or disagreed with specific statements (four-point scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") pertaining to their perceptions of the campus, administrators, and faculty.

Respondents and Datafile

On March 5, 1997, SARIS conducted the survey of students of color, and on March 26 and April 2 and 9, 1997, SARIS conducted the general Cycles survey. For the prior survey, a random sample of undergraduate students of color was selected (racial and ethnic group identification was supplied by students on their applications for admission to the University). Interviewers attempted to contact 907 students and successfully interviewed 323, yielding a response rate of 35.6% (An explanation of the low response rate is provided in the next subsection). For the usual Cycles survey, interviewers attempted to contact 1567

students and successfully interviewed 687, yielding a response rate of 43.8%.

For the analysis in this study, a single datafile was created by merging the data for white respondents from the general Cycles survey with the respondents from the students of color survey. This produced a datafile of 841 cases with the following racial/ethnic breakdown: Black - 96 (includes 17 Cape Verdeans), Asian - 105, Multi-racial - 43, Latino - 76, White - 521. It is important to note that non-U.S. citizens were included in analyses, and Native Americans were excluded because there were only 9 respondents. Because non-U.S. citizens are included, category designations are discussed as "black" and "Asian" not "African American" or "Asian American."

Limitation of Study

The response rate for the general Cycles survey was somewhat lower than the usual 50% rate, but the response rate for the survey of students of color was particularly low due to a specific reason. Students of color were surveyed during the height of a take-over of a campus building by students of color who were protesting the campus climate. As a result, many students of color were not home when the survey was administered. This situation led to a lower than usual response rate for students of color and a possible bias in the results. Some administrators have argued that because feelings were more intense on campus at this time, the data from students of color are more "negative" than they would otherwise be. Other administrators have argued that in actuality the results are probably more "positive" than might be expected, because approximately two hundred students of color who had intensely negative feelings were unable to be interviewed because they were participating in the protest. At any rate, the data reflect the opinions of those individuals who were surveyed, and replication of the study in the future will add light to the validity of these data.

Results

Satisfaction with University Experiences

In order to determine group differences in student satisfaction with various campus experiences and services, each of 15 related items was cross-tabulated with the racial/ethnic variable. The Chi-Square statistic was analyzed for each bivariate distribution to determine if statistically significant differences existed among the five racial/ethnic groups (the four mentioned previously and a multi-racial category). Eleven out of 15 items showed statistically significant differences among groups, and on ten of the eleven items black students were the most dissatisfied group. For this analysis, the 15 items have been grouped into the following six topics (the number of survey items pertaining to each topic is noted in parentheses): academics (4), social (2), security (2), financial (3), residential (3), and overall satisfaction (1). The questions pertaining to residential life showed no significant difference among groups; therefore, they are not discussed here.

Academics. Students were asked four questions pertaining to satisfaction with their academic experiences. Three out of the four questions showed statistically significant differences among groups. (All statistically significant relationships are depicted in Table 1.) When asked how satisfied they were with their academic progress, larger proportions of black students expressed dissatisfaction ($\chi 2 = 39.33$, $p = .0009$). To illustrate in terms of percentages, 28.2% of the black students were either very or somewhat dissatisfied, compared to 19.5% of multi-racial students, 17.1% of Latinos, 17.1% of Asians, and 12.1% of white students. When asked about their satisfaction with the accessibility of faculty, black students were the most dissatisfied ($\chi 2 = 26.89$, $p = .008$), with 37.9% being either very or somewhat dissatisfied compared to 18.7% of white students who were the least dissatisfied. When asked about their satisfaction with their academic experience, black students were most dissatisfied ($\chi 2 = 40.01$, $p = .0000$), with 34.1% being either very or somewhat dissatisfied compared to 13.6% of white students.

Student dissatisfaction with academic aspects of their college experiences was more prevalent

among black students than among students of the other four racial/ethnic groups. Conversely, dissatisfaction is least prevalent among white students. While the levels of dissatisfaction expressed by Asian, Latino, and multi-racial students were slightly higher than the levels expressed by white students, these levels of dissatisfaction were nevertheless substantially lower than the levels expressed by black students. Of all three variables, the responses of Asian, Latino, and multi-racial students more closely approximated the responses of white students than black students.

(Place Table 1 about here)

Social. When students were asked about their satisfaction with their "social life," larger proportions of black students expressed dissatisfaction ($\chi 2 = 31.96$, $p = .0000$), with 20.0% being either very or somewhat dissatisfied compared to 13.9% of multi-racial students, 13.5% of Asians, 10.7% of Latinos, and 6.6% of whites. Students also were asked to report their satisfaction with "programmed social activities, for example, campus concerts, movies, etc." Again black students were the most dissatisfied group ($\chi 2 = 31.96$, $p = .0014$), with 39.7% being either very or somewhat dissatisfied compared to 30.6% of multi-racial students, 21.6% of whites, 20.9% of Asians, and 13.3% of Latinos.

Like the academic variables, the social variables show that black students are the most dissatisfied group; however, unlike the academic variables, the levels of dissatisfaction for each racial/ethnic group on the social variables is more evenly distributed. In other words, there is not a clear separation between the levels of dissatisfaction for blacks versus the other groups. And while the white majority students are the least dissatisfied with their overall social life on campus, it is the Latino group which is least dissatisfied with the programmed social activities on campus. This is likely a reflection on the positive cultural programming conducted by the Latino student groups.

Security. Students were asked to report their satisfaction with security in the residence halls and on campus in general. In both questions, black and multi-racial students reported the highest levels of dissatisfaction. Regarding residence halls, 30.3% of multi-racial students and 27.6% of black students

reported dissatisfaction compared to only 11.4% of Asians, 8.7% of whites and 8.5% of Latinos ($\chi 2$ = 44.22, p = .0000). Regarding security on campus, 31.6% of black students and 29.0% of multi-racial students reported dissatisfaction compared to 15.2 % of Asians, 14.7% of Latinos, and 10.4% of whites ($\chi 2$ = 39.07, p = .0001).

Satisfaction with security can be reflective of how safe students feel. Clearly, black and multi-racial students have many more concerns about security than the other groups. Upon seeing these survey results, one administrator expressed no surprise, noting his perception that on this campus, people feel less secure based on the darkness of their skin color. While that sentiment may help explain the dissatisfaction of black students, it is unclear if it pertains to the multi-racial students as well.

Financial. Students were asked to report their satisfaction with the Bursar's Office, the Financial Aid Office, and their financial aid package. In each case, black students were the most dissatisfied group and white students were the least dissatisfied group. Regarding the Bursar's Office, 57.8% of the blacks and 30.8% of the whites were dissatisfied ($\chi 2$ = 43.14, p = .0000). As noted in Table 1, similar figures are reported for both the Financial Aid Office and financial aid package.

University Experience. Students were asked one general question about their satisfaction with their university experience. Again, black students were the most dissatisfied group, with 29.2% of the blacks reporting very or somewhat dissatisfied ($\chi 2$ = 53.45, p = .0000). There was a large gap between the black group and the other groups, with dissatisfaction reported by 10.5% of the Latinos, 9.3% of the multi-racial students, 8.4% of the whites, and 7.6% of the Asians.

Agreement with Statements about University Life

In the survey, students were asked to report their level of agreement with each of four attitudinal statements. The statements pertain to students' perceptions of UMass and how they are treated. The first statement was "UMass is a good place to find out who you are." As shown in Table 2, students of color were much less likely than majority students to "strongly agree" with this statement ($\chi 2$ = 48.21, p = .0000).

Only 14.3% of the Asian students agreed strongly, while 33.3% of the white students agreed strongly.

The second statement was "Most students at UMass are treated like numbers, not people." While high levels of strong agreement were expressed by all groups, black students (53.1%) were much more likely than white students (25.9%) to strongly agree ($\chi 2 = 44.34$, $p = .0000$).

The third statement was "Faculty members at UMass are concerned about undergraduates' academic progress." In this case, black students were the least likely group to strongly agree (4.3%), while white students (16.0%) and Asian students (17.1%) were the most likely to strongly agree ($\chi 2 = 40.41$, $p = .0000$).

The fourth statement was "Administrators at UMass do not seem to care about students." Black students (37.6%) were the most likely to strongly agree, and white (16.7%) and multi-racial (16.7%) students were the least likely to strongly agree ($\chi 2 = 44.00$, $p = .0000$).

Discussion

The results of this study show considerable differences among students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds regarding their experiences at UMass. A study by Hurtado, Dey, and Trevino (1994) offers evidence that such differences in student perceptions and opinions of their college experiences are not confined to this institution. In fact, their data show that such differences may be a national phenomenon. Using data from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program at UCLA, the authors analyzed responses from 6,107 students representing all types of institutions of higher education, and they made some discoveries pertinent to this study. Hurtado, Dey, and Trevino not only found differences among racial/ethnic groups regarding campus life issues, their data also show that African American students' views were more negative than those of other groups. For example, 53% of African American students felt excluded from school activities because of their race/ethnicity, while only 24% of Asian students, 16% of Chicano students, and 6% of white students expressed similar feelings. The study also showed that substantially higher proportions of African American students (51%) reported hearing "faculty make

inappropriate remarks about minorities" (p.34), compared to 31% of Asians, 19% of whites, and 13% of Chicanos. The authors also discovered that 32% of African Americans "felt insulted/threatened by other students because of my racial/ethnic background" (p.34), compared to 30% of Asians, 10% of Chicanos, and 9% of whites. While only three survey items were discussed in the article, the results of those items clearly are indicative of the results discussed in this current study -- namely that different racial/ethnic groups perceive certain campus experiences differently, and black students voice more negative opinions on such issues.

The data reported in both of these studies beg the question – Why are such differences among groups being observed? Below three types of reasons are offered as possible explanations for this phenomenon: societal, institutional, and individual.

Societal Reasons

Colleges and universities are microcosms of larger society, and ever since the civil rights movement of the 1960s, society's racial tensions have been very much a part of the campus scene. Hurtado (1992) mentioned several social contexts that have aggravated racial tensions in recent years, and it is likely that these tensions contribute to the anger and dissatisfaction students of color express regarding their campus experiences. Hurtado's societal influences include the country's shift away from a liberal political ideology toward the middle and right, renewed activity by the Ku Klux Klan, increased urban racial unrest, legal attacks on affirmative action, and reduction in federal aid to students. All of these circumstances can be viewed as oppressive to minority students, and this type of climate can color the lenses through which many students of color view society and their college campuses.

Hacker (1995) also emphasized that the educational and economic gaps between African Americans and whites in this country contribute greatly to tension and hostility. In his book, Hacker discussed U.S. Government statistics on poverty, employment, and education that show fairly uniformly that African Americans are at the lowest ends of the scales relative to other groups, including Latinos and Asian Americans. Hacker attributes this inequality not only to the history of slavery which has led to

discrimination and institutional racism, but he also emphasized the social isolation of African Americans from other groups in this country. He noted that due to segregation African Americans "spend more of their lives apart from other groups than even recent immigrants" (p. 151). With so many disadvantages, it should come not be surprising for African Americans to be angrier and more dissatisfied than other groups in any predominantly white setting.

Institutional Reasons

As Hurtado, Dey, and Trevino (1994) observed, racial/ethnic differences in opinions and perceptions of campus experiences are likely to occur on all types of campuses, and one can argue that these differences are linked to racial tensions on campuses. Hurtado (1992) noted that some types of campuses are more susceptible to racial tensions and that the following institutional characteristics contribute to such tensions: (a) predominantly white institutions that actively and successfully work to increase their enrollments of students of color, (b) large institutions that students often perceive to be impersonal, and (c) institutions that implement the currently popular movements toward academic excellence linked to selectivity, resources, and reputation. Regarding the latter, she stated that "Narrow conceptions of 'quality' often favor elitism rather than egalitarianism, homogeneity rather than diversity, and the unequal distribution of resources" (p. 561), and she noted that institutional movement in these directions can instill student distrust of the administration.

UMass Amherst is a large public research university characterized by all three of the conditions specified by Hurtado. Administrators are striving to increase academic excellence by increasing selectivity, and the State has mandated that the entire student profile (SAT and class rank) be enhanced. Also, the campus recently won from the State the right to house a large residential honors college whose students will have even higher student profiles than the rest of the student body. Another selectivity issue involves the administration's effort to obtain membership into the AAU, an organization that is perceived by some to be elitist. At the same time the campus is striving for academic excellence, administrators claim to remain committed to diversity and increasing the enrollments of students of color. Unfortunately, these priorities

are often viewed as conflicting by some students, faculty, and administrators on campus.

Individual Reasons

In addition to societal and institutional contexts that may contribute to differing opinions by racial/ethnic background, individual contexts also play an important role. In a different study at UMass, Malaney and Shively (1995) showed how perceptions and expectations differ by racial/ethnic background. In their study, African American and Latino students were much more likely than white or Asian American students to report personally experiencing racial harassment or discrimination, and African American students were much more likely than the other groups to say that they had heard about racial incidents on campus before they arrived at the institution. African American, Asian American, and Latino students all had lower expected grade point averages than white students, and African American and Latino students had lower observed grade point averages than white students.

Low academic integration of African American students also is reported by Nettles (1991). In a national study of 4094 students in 30 colleges and universities in 10 states, he found that compared to white students, African American students had lower SAT scores, lower high school grade point averages, lower socio-economic status, greater financial need, stronger feelings of discrimination, and lower commitment to their colleges. Each of these individual characteristics can negatively impact the campus experiences of African American students.

One also must not forget that racial prejudices of individuals are likely to negatively impact the experiences of students. When students are on the recipients of prejudicial actions, racial tensions are likely to increase (Marcus, 1996). Unfortunately, faculty and staff members, as well as students, have preconceived notions about people based on race. When preconceived notions are demonstrated through either actions or words, it should not be surprising that affected individuals respond negatively. For instance, if a student of color is confronted with bigotry on the part of staff in a campus service office, the student will most certainly be dissatisfied with the service. On any large predominantly white campus like UMass, it is likely that students of color have been affected by people's prejudices.

Recommendations

Given the many factors which may contribute to the negative experiences of some students of color, campus communities must continue to search for academic and social programs aimed at improving the overall condition of life on campus, including racial climate and the environment of support for students of color. In their work on improving community, Spitzberg and Thorndike (1992) offered several suggestions for improving campus climate for students of color. Spitzberg and Thorndike call for the development of programming on civility for faculty, staff, and students. They also suggest that campuses "make a major commitment to educating students about cultures different from their own and about the United States as a multicultural society" (p. 187).

While UMass has attempted to take some of these steps and is even cited by Spitzberg and Thorndike for its creation of "Civility Week" in the wake of the 1986 racial incident, clearly the institution continues to have problems. Perhaps it is time for all institutions to mandate diversity training for all faculty, staff, and students. Of course, the fights in faculty senates would be intense, to say the least. But with so many individuals continuing to be socialized in a segregated society with few opportunities to gain knowledge of other races and ethnicities, should it not be the mission of colleges and universities to educate on this issue? Many administrators will say that they already have imposed diversity-based educational requirements, but too many of these institutions allow students to choose courses emphasizing a single culture, such as a course on Eastern European politics and culture. Most of the courses do not require students to confront the racial and cultural biases that exist in this country. Perhaps faculty, staff, and students need to be forced to sit down in diverse groups and debate the topic of prejudice and its consequences in this country. Maybe only then will people begin to truly understand differences and begin to treat others with respect.

In terms of academics, it is important to seriously address the needs of at-risk students, where on many campuses large proportions are students of color. At-risk students have less academic preparation and they need to be assisted properly if they are going to have positive academic experiences. Tutoring and

mentoring programs need to be established to meet the needs of these students. Campuses who recruit and admit students of color who are less academically prepared for college have a moral responsibility to do everything they can to help these students succeed. Given the substantially lower graduation rates of African American and Latino students at so many predominantly white institutions, clearly more academic and social support needs to be established.

Another way to work toward improving the campus environment for students of color is by utilizing quality improvement measures (Seymour, 1992, 1995). Since 1994, UMass has been working with a quality improvement consultant in an effort to improve the overall support for students on campus. Such efforts include a substantial amount of staff training regarding customer satisfaction. Sensitivity to students of color should be an important part of this training.

Quality improvement initiatives also require the collection of data regarding the perceived importance of specific services as well as satisfaction with said services. Such data collection efforts should be on-going and inclusive of minority populations. Too often on large predominantly white campuses, quantitative surveys of random samples of students yield only a small number of students of color, and as a result, students of color are either aggregated into a single group or not separated out at all. Administrators and researchers need to go beyond standard random sample surveys on such campuses in order to understand the perceptions of specific groups of students. Over-sampling by race or other characteristics can prove helpful, but other non-quantitative research techniques also should be employed.

Qualitative research methods such as focus groups and personal interviews with students of color could provide many insights into understanding why there are different perceptions of campus climate and services by racial/ethnic group. Such research also serves the additional purpose of demonstrating that administrators care enough to try to understand why students might not feel as if they are supported. This type of continuous dialogue can only work to improve campus climate.

References

Allen, W. (1985). Black student, white campus: Structural, interpersonal, and psychological correlates of success. Journal of Negro Education, 54, 134-47.

Allen, W. (1988). The education of Black students on white college campuses: What quality the experience? In M. T. Nettles (Ed.), Toward black undergraduate student equality in American higher education. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Asamen, J. K. & Berry, G. L. (1987). Self concept, alienation and perceived prejudice: Implications for counseling Asian Americans. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 3, 146-159.

Astin, A. W. (1975). Preventing students from dropping out. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A. W. (1977). Four critical years: Effects of college on beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A. W. (1993). What matters in college: Four critical years revisited. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Braddock, J. H. (1981). Desegregation and Black students. Urban Education, 15(4), 403-418.

Brown, C. (1991). Increasing minority access to college: Seven efforts for success. NASPA Journal, 28, 224-230.

Chapman, S. C. (1989). Women students. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), The Freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college, pp. 287-302. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Chew, C. A. & Ogi, A. Y. (1987). Asian American college student perspectives. In D. J. Wright (Ed.), New Directions for Student Services No. 38, Responding to the needs of minority students, pp. 39-48. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clarke, J. (1991, October 31). Asian students reject UMass response to demands. Springfield Union-News, p.14.

Copland, B. A. (1989). Adult learners. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), The Freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college, pp. 303-15. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Crosson, P. H. (1988). Four-year college and university environments for minority degree achievement. The Review of Higher Education, 11, 365-82.

Getzlaf, S. B., Sedlacek, W., Kearney, & Blackwell (1984). Two types of voluntary undergraduate attrition: An application of Tinto's model. Research in Higher Education, 20, 257-268.

Hacker, A. (1995). Two nations: Black and white, separate, hostile, unequal. New York: Ballantine Books.

Hameister, B. G. (1989). Disabled students. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), The Freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college, pp. 340-51. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hawkins, B. D. (1989). Minority students on predominantly white campuses: The need for new commitment. NASPA Journal, 26, 173-179.

Hurtado, S. (1992). The campus racial climate: Contexts for conflict. Journal of Higher Education, 63, 539-569.

Hurtado, S., Dey, E. L., & Trevino, J. G. (1994, April). Exclusion or self-segregation?: Interaction across racial/ethnic groups on college campuses. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans.

Justiz, M. J. & Rendon, L. I. (1989). Hispanic students. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), The Freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college, pp. 261-276. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kegan, D. L. (1978). The Cycles surveys: Longitudinal indicators of the quality of student life and a framework for evaluation and administrative experimentation. Evaluation Quarterly, 2, 293-314.

Lam, J. A., Malaney, G. D., & Oteri, L. A. (1990). Strategies to increase student response rates to mail surveys. Journal of Marketing for Higher Education, 3, 89-105.

Loo, C. M. & Rolison, G. (1986). Alienation of ethnic minority students at a predominantly white university. Journal of Higher Education, 57, 58-77.

Madrazo-Peterson, R. & Rodriguez, M. (1978). Minority students' perception of a university environment. Journal of College Student Personnel, 19, 259-263.

Malaney, G. D., & Shively, M. (1995). Academic and social expectations and experiences of first-year students of color. NASPA Journal, 33, 3-18.

Mallinckrodt, B. (1988). Student retention, social support and dropout intention: Comparison of Black and white students. Journal of College Student Development, 29, 60-64.

Mannan, G., Charleston, L., & Saghafi, B. (1986). A comparison of the academic performance of Black and white freshman students on an urban commuter campus. Journal of Negro Education, 55(2), 155-60.

Marcus, L. R. (1996). Fighting words: The politics of hateful speech. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Mow, S. L. & Nettles, M. T. (1990). Minority student access to, and persistence and performance in, college: A review of the trends and research literature. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), Higher education: Handbook of theory and research, Volume VI (pp. 35-105). New York: Agathon Press.

Nettles, M. T. (1991). Racial similarities and differences in the predictors of college student achievement. In W. R. Allen, E. G. Epps, & N. Z. Hanniff (Eds.), College in black and white: African American students in predominantly white and in historically black public universities, pp. 75-91. Abany: SUNY Press.

Nora, A. (1987). Determinants of retention among Chicano college students: A structural model. Research in Higher Education, 26, 31-59.

Olivas, M. A. (Ed.). (1986). Hispanic college students. New York: Teachers College Press.

Pascarella, E. T. (1980). Student-faculty informal contact and college outcomes. Review of Educational Research, 50, 545-95.

Pascarella, E. T. (1985). Racial differences in factors associated with bachelor's degree completion: A nine-year follow-up. Research in Higher Education, 23, 351-73.

Pascarella, E. T. & Terenzini, P. T. (1977). Patterns of student-faculty informal interaction beyond the classroom and voluntary freshman attrition. Journal of Higher Education, 5, 540-52.

Pascarella, E. T. & Terenzini, P. T. (1979). Interaction effects in Spady's and Tinto's conceptual models of college dropouts. Sociology of Education, 52, 197-210.

Pascarella, E. T. & Terenzini, P. T. (1983). Predicting voluntary freshman year persistence/withdrawal behavior in a residential university: A path analytic validation of Tinto's model. Journal of Educational Psychology, 75, 215-26.

Pascarella, E. T. & Wolfle, L. M. (1985). Persistence in higher education: A nine-year test of a theoretical model. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Pounds, A. W. (1989). Black students. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), The Freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college, pp. 277-86. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rezendes, M. (1988, April 19). Campus minorities: Confronting racism with mature methods. Washington Post, p. A3.

Rice, R. L. (1989). Commuter students. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), The Freshman year experience: Helping students survive and succeed in college, pp. 316-26. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Seymour, D. (1992). On Q: Causing quality in higher education. New York: American Council on Education and Macmillan.

Seymour, D. (1995). Once upon a campus: Lessons for improving quality and productivity in higher education. New York: American Council on Education and Oryx Press.

Shea, C. (1992, November 25). Protests centering on racial issues erupt on many campuses this fall. Chronicle of Higher Education, p. A23.

Spitzberg, I. J. & Thorndike, V. V. (1992). Creating community on college campuses. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Stone, A. & Larrabee, J. (1992, November 9). Racism taints universities' hallowed halls. USA Today, p. A6.

Suen, H. K. (1983). Alienation and attrition of black college students on a predominantly white campus. Journal of College Student Personnel, 24, 117-21.

Terenzini, P. T. & Pascarella, E. T. (1977). Voluntary freshman attrition and patterns of social and academic integration in a university: A test of a conceptual model. Research in Higher Education, 15, 109-27.

Tinto, V. (1987). Leaving college: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

UMass students seize building in protest on minority issues. (1997, March 14). Chronicle of Higher Education, p. A8.

Upcraft, M. L. (1985). Residence halls and student activities. In L. Noel, R. Levitz, & D. Salori (Eds.), Increasing student retention: Effective programs and practices for reducing the dropout rate. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Table 1

Differences in Satisfaction with University Experiences by Racial Group

(Percentage of respondents who expressed very or somewhat dissatisfied)

Variable	Black	Asian	Multi-Racial	Latino	White	$\chi 2$*
Your Academic Progress	28.2	17.1	19.5	17.1	12.1	39.33
Faculty Accessibility	37.9	21.9	21.4	26.5	18.7	26.89
Your Academic Experience	34.1	15.4	20.9	17.1	13.6	40.01
Programmed Social Activities	39.7	20.9	30.6	13.3	21.6	31.96
Your Social Life	20.0	13.5	13.9	10.7	6.6	52.90
Security in Residence Halls	27.6	11.4	30.3	8.5	8.7	44.22
Security on Campus	31.6	15.2	29.0	14.7	10.4	39.07
Bursars Office	57.8	40.0	43.2	52.2	30.8	43.14
Financial Aid Office	64.6	40.7	60.0	58.6	32.9	73.50
Your Financial Aid Package	60.0	44.7	55.5	52.9	37.3	45.78
Your University Experience	29.2	7.6	9.3	10.5	8.4	53.45

*$p < .001$

Note: The dataset consists of the following number of respondents by group: Black - 96 (includes 17 Cape Verdeans), Asian - 105, Multi-racial - 43, Latino - 76, White - 521. Native Americans were excluded from analyses because there were only 9 respondents. Non-U.S. citizens were included in analyses.

Table 2

Differences in Agreement with Specific Statements by Racial Group

(Percentage of respondents who expressed "strongly agree")

Variable	Black	Asian	Multi-Racial	Latino	White	$\chi 2$*
UMass is a good place to find out who you are.	17.0	14.3	18.6	19.4	33.3	48.21
Most students at UMass are treated like numbers, not people.	53.1	37.9	35.7	46.1	25.9	44.34
Faculty members at UMass are concerned about undergraduates' academic progress.	4.3	17.1	11.6	6.6	16.0	40.41
Administrators at UMass do not seem to care about students.	37.6	21.8	16.7	31.1	16.7	44.00

*$p < .001$

Note: The dataset consists of the following number of respondents by group: Black - 96, Asian - 105, Multi-racial - 43, Latino - 76, White - 521. Native Americans were excluded from analyses because there were only 9 respondents. Non-U.S. citizens were included in analyses.

Table 3

Differences in Perceived Progress Gained in Specific Areas by Racial Group

(Percentage of respondents who expressed "very little")

Variable	Black	Asian	Multi-Racial	Latino	White	$\chi 2$
Career Preparation	29.8	21.9	21.4	18.7	9.9	40.63***
Awareness of Different Cultures	22.9	20.0	9.3	13.2	6.9	26.89***
Understanding Yourself	16.0	10.5	9.5	4.0	4.4	30.23*
Ability to Learn on Your Own	11.5	5.7	0.0	2.6	3.8	21.10*
Understanding and Enjoyment of Art	44.6	31.7	34.9	31.6	23.3	31.78**
Developing Leadership Skills	26.9	34.3	26.2	17.1	14.8	31.68**
Working Effectively in a Group	14.7	18.3	23.3	13.2	11.6	23.01*

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Note: The dataset consists of the following number of respondents by group: Black - 96, Asian - 105, Multi-racial - 43, Latino - 76, White - 521. Native Americans were excluded from analyses because there were only 9 respondents. Non-U.S. citizens were included in analyses.